

HORSE SENSE.

BY

SAMUEL W. ALLERTON.

The two great parties have now nominated their candidates and have declared their principles.

The issue is now before us, as American citizens, who were given, by our forefathers, the elective franchise, the greatest gift to man, that we might have a voice in the policies and principles that should govern our country.

Is it not our duty to sustain a party that will be in the interest of the greatest good to the greatest number?

The Democratic issue in 1892 was that the Tariff robbed the people. "Elect us and we will reduce the Tariff, repeal reciprocity and the Sherman Act." The Democrats now see from their experience the past four years, that they were wrong, and that they cannot go before the people and win.

We have now lived three and one-half years under Democratic rule. They controlled both Houses of Congress and the Executive branch of the Government from 1893 to 1895.

We have had three and one-half years of hard times and idle labor; our property has depreciated, not millions, but billions. Who have lost it? The farmers, middle classes and labor. The farmer and the cotton grower are now receiving the lowest price for their products on record. Labor is idle, wages are greatly reduced, and hard times is the cry all over the land.

In the richest country in material wealth in the world, with good crops, no pestilence, no calamities (except it may be that the Democratic party has been in power) now why should a free

people be in such a condition? There must be a cause. The Democrats have abandoned their position of 1892 and have been swallowed by the Populists, knowing they would not stand a ghost of a show, and that they must have a new issue. So they have declared now for a fifty-cent dollar. They call it bimetalism; but they know with free coinage of silver the Government could not maintain it on a parity with gold, for the gold would leave the country, and free silver means a fifty-cent dollar.

Under the principles of the Republican party, Protection to American industry, reciprocity and sound money, we had thirty years of the greatest prosperity known to man.

After being in full power, and destroying our prosperity, the Democrats now propose to get in power again by holding out to the farmer—this inducement. "Elect us and we will reduce the value of a dollar to fifty cents"—or in plain English: "*We are in favor of repudiation.*"

THE FARMER.

I have always felt that the success of this great Republican Government depended on the intelligence of the American farmer.

I am a farmer. I spent ten years of my life behind a plow. The largest interest I have is farming. My interest is with the farmer, and I have asked myself. "As no man knows better than you the present hard condition of the farmer, have we not a great interest in this campaign?"

CAUSE OF THE DEPRESSION.

Now let us be honest with ourselves and discuss this question on its merits, with no prejudice nor ill will to any one.

First: What has brought about this great depression? The fundamental principle of the Democratic party is against Protection of American industry. That the Government should not in any sense assume a parental Protection to its own people.

In 1844 they opposed free schools, acting on the theory that the Government should not be in any sense parental in the interest of its people. But they now stand for free schools and I have always been in hopes they would be in favor of Protection to our own industries.

You ought not to reduce the wages of the laborer, you do not reduce him socially, morally and intellectually. With reciprocity repealed, closing the markets of the world against our farm products, and cutting off the revenue of our Government, gold in our Treasury began to go abroad to pay for foreign-made goods. The repeal of reciprocity reduced our exports of bread stuffs from two hundred and nineteen millions of dollars to one hundred and fourteen millions, and we are now selling our grain for nothing because our people cannot buy it, as they are idle. Under reciprocity we shipped this grain abroad.

These are the causes that produced the panic, and every one then commenced to hedge, and confidence among our own people was lost, and we have been idle ever since. We only export 5 per cent. of our products, except wheat. It is not money that makes prices, because we have a much larger percentage of money per capita now than we had from 1861 to 1890. They may tell you that you got good prices in war times, when gold was at a premium, but it was not that; it was the *demand*. The war made a great demand for farmer's products.

TARIFF REDUCTION.

All men who accomplish anything in the world must do it by their individuality. We are an individual nation and must take care of ourselves. England, France and Germany will not take care

of us. As soon as Grover Cleveland was elected, the Democrats got in control of both Houses of Congress. The Tariff was reduced so that foreign goods could be imported, closing up our own manufacturing and filling our land with idle labor, on the theory that the more foreign goods we imported, and the more we reduced the wages of labor, and the more we got in debt the richer we would be. They find this theory has destroyed our country's prosperity, so they now propose to reduce the value of the laborer by paying him a fifty-cent dollar, in hopes it will enable our manufacturers to compete with those of the old world.

PROTECTION FOR THE FARMER.

Under the principles of the Republican party from 1860 to 1892, labor was well paid and well employed and consumed the farmer's product at a good price. Now is it not clearly the interest of the farmer to stand for Protection of home industry—reciprocity and sound money and bring back to the nation prosperity and confidence among ourselves and confidence among the nations of the world? The Republican Government is for integrity and manhood and our unalienable right to protect ourselves. Is it not better for the farmer to stick to the party of action—whose policy and principles have given us prosperity—than to join a party of repudiation, a party of promises that are never kept or fulfilled—which has abandoned the issue of 1892 and taken up a new theory to remain in power?

RECIPROCITY.

What is reciprocity, and how does it affect the farmer? Reciprocity is to say to the nations of the world—any product we cannot produce at home, or produce to good advantage, we will accept without duty, if in your country you will receive in return without duty our products, but articles we can produce and manufacture at home—we will protect with a duty to protect our own labor. With the Tariff and reciprocity, we are in position to trade with other nations—to protect our own interest for the benefit of our own people.

How has the farmer been affected by the repeal of reciprocity? The markets of the world have been cut off. When we had reciprocity, we sold cattle and hog products to Cuba, France, Germany, Belgium, Switzerland, Norway and Sweden. When reciprocity was repealed, these governments under the sanitary law, under a false pretense, claimed our cattle were sick, when the facts are, that the insurance companies have reduced the rates of insurance in the last eight years, from six dollars a head down to fifty cents, and no live stock shipper has lost a steer by disease in the last eight years.

Now the President has it in his power, given to him by Congress, to retaliate on any nation that legislates unjustly against our products.

The Secretary of Agriculture allows these nations to declare that his inspection is worthless, when the national inspection on live cattle is and always has been very rigid. Each and every steer is inspected separately, and a tag put in his ear, and every piece of meat has a Government stamp. We allow them to ship \$21 worth of wine and they pay \$2 duty, but they charge us on \$20 worth of wheat, \$12. Duty on lard is $3\frac{1}{2}$ cents per pound, 21 cents on rye, 6 cents on oats, 14 cents on corn, 36 cents on wheat. Any man who has horse sense enough to come in when it rains can see why we do not get anything for our products we ship to foreign countries. Is it any wonder our nation is poor? How long could you and I trade on this basis. One of us would be sure to go broke.

And does not this explain to you the reason why the farmers west of the Missouri River cannot accumulate enough to pay off their mortgages and own their own homes, be self supporting and lay away something for a rainy day? Had we maintained the principles of the Republican party, we would to-day be getting good prices for our farm products, and the mortgages would not trouble any one. Any one who had been so unfortunate as not to have paid off his mortgage, could, with a sound financial policy, have renewed his mortgage at a much lower rate of interest. Money would be plentiful, for we see that in all countries that have a sound financial

gold basis, they loan money for 1 and 2 per cent., while in all free silver countries, from 10 to 12 per cent.

UNDER-CONSUMPTION.

The unthinking tell us that the cause of low prices is over product, but we know better. We have received 600,000 less cattle; and less hogs in 1895 than in 1892. We see we have imported \$26,000,000 worth of woolen goods from England in the last six months of 1895, more than we did under the McKinley law. We have the goods and England has the gold. Had we made them at home we would have had the goods and the gold both. Seventy-five per cent. of the woolen mills of New England have been idle and other manufacturers have been on half time, and the New England States consumed 300,000 less cattle in 1895 than 1892.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF UNDER-CONSUMPTION.

We now have 130,000 barrels of pork selling at \$6. We had at the same time, in 1891, 300,000 barrels of pork, selling at \$12.75 per barrel.

We now have 56,000,000 of short ribs, selling at \$3.10 per hundred. We had at the same time, in 1891, 96,000,000 of ribs, selling at from \$6 to \$7 per hundred.

From 1861 to 1892, lard sold from \$6 to \$8 per hundred pounds; now it sells at \$3.10.

Why are ribs \$3.10 per hundred, pork \$6.00, lard \$3.10? It is because our people are idle and do not consume and our foreign demand cut off by the repeal of reciprocity. Take 25,000,000 pounds of ribs out of the market and ribs would go up \$1 per hundred and hogs with them.

A milk dealer in Chicago told me he bought the milk of a number of farmers. In good times 6,000 families would use it all, but since the Democrats have been in power, and we have had these hard times, he supplies with the same amount of milk, 12,000 families. They only buy half the milk they did three years ago. Now, if the people will economize on milk, will they not economize on beef, mutton, pork, and all farm products? Is it not clear that when our people are idle they will not consume?

To every cattle man, it is strange that a 1200-pound steer will sell for more than a fine well matured 1500-pound steer. The reason is people economize on beef as well as milk and want a small piece of beef. It is under-consumption, not over-production that makes such low prices for our products. Now, who would receive the benefits of free coinage of silver? It would be the silver mine owner here, and the silver mine owner abroad who would send it here to be coined and pocket the profit.

PROMISES.

Bryan says: "The sympathies of the Democrats, as declared by the platform, are on the side of the struggling masses."

Is not this the same boy orator, who in 1892 said in Congress and out of Congress: "Give us Free-Trade and we will give you prosperity?" Do we want the kind of prosperity we have had for the last three years? Idle labor and hard times the cry all over the land, in a country blessed with everything for human comfort.

He is now trying to get in office by appealing to the prejudices of the people, because they have suffered by a bad policy he helped to inaugurate. He now proposes to give us a fifty-cent dollar by saying to the people: "Will not your silver dollar buy as much as a gold dollar?" He knows the reason is, the Government has sold bonds to get gold to redeem silver. If they had not, your present silver dollar to-day would be worth 50 cents. Yet, the "Popocrat" party declares the Government shall not sell any more bonds to get gold.

ANARCHISTIC TALK.

The Democrat-Populist nominee for President says: "This is a campaign between the rich and the poor." Did any anarchist express sentiments wrought with greater peril to a Republican Government? To try to get in office by arraying the poor against those who have acquired homes and a competency for old age by economy and hard work, and by appealing to the prejudices and passions of men, is a cause false in its very conception.

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM IGNORES THE FARMER.

There is not a word in the Democratic platform in the interest of the farmer; that reciprocity should be restored, that our home industry should be protected, that our labor may be employed, that the markets of the world should open for the farmer's product. The Democratic party has been the conservative party. Not a party of ideas or progress, but a party of opposition. They have been useful in the past as a check, but they are now like poor Old Dog Tray, who fell in bad company.

In 1892 they combined all the "isms," all the cranks, all the parties who wanted to make something out of nothing, and when they met in Congress, it was bedlam. They now call themselves Populist-Democrats.

DEMOCRATS AND SILVER.

From 1832 until 1860 the Democrats had full control of the Government, the executive branch and both houses of Congress. They coined no silver dollar. The silver was coined while the Republican party was in power. The people would not use silver, therefore the vaults of the Government became filled with silver dollars and the Sherman Act was adopted and silver certificates were issued for silver bullion held by the Treasury. The members of the present Popocratic Party repealed the Sherman Act.

SILVER.

What is the practical reason that we do not want silver? In the early ages we had iron and copper. It was bulky and lost its commercial value. Silver and gold were adopted. Copper was and is still used for cents. The great production of silver has reduced its commercial value, and it is so bulky, trade and commerce have rejected it. The vaults of our Government are filled with silver dollars. The bank vault is filled with silver, and the bankers are obliged to store it away in boxes. They do not know what to do with it. The Government, to encourage the use of silver among our people, will express it free to any part of our country. To get gold

you are obliged to pay express charges. When you have free coinage of the world's silver, you will force our people to take what the most prosperous and enlightened nations have rejected, what trade and commerce and our own people will not use. The spirit of the American people is for something good, and they will not be forced to use what they do not want.

Shall this great nation of free people sink its pride and manhood and adopt the policies of a weak nation? Shall not this great Republic have the best financial policy, sound and uniform, and good the world over?

These "Popocrats" are a very inconsistent lot. They will tell you your silver dollar is as good as a gold dollar, knowing it is so, because the Government redeems the silver in gold, and yet they want to make the people believe with free coinage of silver, the silver products of the world, and this silver will pass on a parity with gold. Is not their platform inconsistent with common sense?

THE TRUE ISSUE.

The fact is, free silver is a false issue; it is simply a scheme of repudiation. No intelligent man should be led away with it.

The real issue of this campaign is Protection to American industry, reciprocity to open the markets of the world for our farm products and an honest dollar, good all over our country and the world.

LEAVINGS.

The Democrat-Populists remind me of two neighbors who got in a quarrel—telling each other what mean men they were. Finally one neighbor said to the other: "When God got through creating man, he took the leavings and made you." The Popocratic Party is made up of all the noisy anarchists, all the "isms" and cranks of all parties, who want to make something out of nothing, who want to live without work, jealous and mad at industrious men, hoping in this way to defeat the principles that are given to all men—a chance to better their condition.

FALSE REASONING OF THE POPOCRATS.

The free silver Popocrats will also tell you, that if gold should go to premium, the farmer would get more for his products. I say not. Let me give you an illustration.

Take the foreign cattle shipper: England will use 12,000 cattle per week and pay fair prices, but if you ship them 16,000 the surplus must be sold to the laboring man, who cannot pay more than his wages, which is equal to 2 pence per pound for dressed beef. If gold went to a premium of 50 cents, and we shipped 15,000 worth of cattle and sold our exchange at a premium of \$7,500, we would have \$22,500. This would induce every one to ship live cattle, and instead of shipping 12,000 we would ship 20,000 per week, and even with the premium on gold we would not get as much for the 20,000 as for the 12,000. Other farm products would be the same. We would give them such a large surplus they would dictate the price, which would be lower than the premium on gold.

The Popocratic party says. "With free silver, we would have more money." You all know that our silver and currency is backed with gold which makes it good the world over. If you were to have free coinage of silver, do you think the people who have the money would exchange it for something that is only worth 50 cents on the dollar in any country on the globe? No, they would not—they would demand gold.

Go to Mexico, and our silver dollar will buy two Mexican dollars, which have more silver in them than ours. The reason is, Mexico does not redeem her silver with gold. The Popocratic party protests against our Government selling bonds to maintain silver on a parity with gold. Necessarily, if in power, they could not redeem silver with gold, and our silver dollar would depreciate to the value of a Mexican dollar, and all our paper and silver currency would lose one-half of its purchasing power, which would contract our present currency one-half, and our \$600,000,000 of gold would go to foreign countries to pay the interest on Government gold bonds, railroad bonds, township bonds and building bonds, and

this would reduce our medium of exchange \$600,000,000. It would be three to four years before the Popocratic party could get control of both Houses of Congress and could begin to coin silver. Of course, they would not issue silver certificates because the nominee of the Popocratic party voted to repeal the Sherman Act, to issue silver certificates for silver bullion.

RESULTS OF FREE SILVER.

It would take no doubt three years to get the matter settled in Congress, if they wished to restore the Sherman Act that the Democrats repealed in 1893, to issue certificates for silver bullion. With free silver we would remain in this deplorable condition of uncertainty, loss of confidence among ourselves, resulting in a panic, bankrupting a large per cent. of the business men of our nation, paralyzing every industry in the land, throwing thousands of people out of employment, filling our land with idle labor, destroying the demand for the farmer's products, and killing his home market.

George D. Boulton's letter to Charles Morgan, Postmaster of Barrie, N. D., is unanswerable on this question of silver:

"One of the best urgent motives of the silver party is that they want cheap money. By that I suppose they mean money they can borrow cheaply or earn cheaply. Now, the cheapest money in the world is in the strongest gold country, viz.: England. The dearest money in the world is in the silver countries. for example: Money in London to-day is 2 per cent. per annum, and is a drug in the market, loaning between banks at less than 1 per cent. per annum, while money in Mexico, China, Chili, Spain, India and, in fact, in all silver countries of the world, command a loaning value of from 12 per cent. upward.

"In the other gold countries of Europe, while money is not so low as in England, nevertheless the rate varies from 3 to 5 per cent. to the borrower.

SOUTH AMERICAN EXAMPLES.

"I may cite as a good example of the two currencies, two States adjoining one another in South America—one, British Guiana, a gold country, with money at 4 to 6 per cent. per annum; the other Venezuela, with like soil and climatic conditions, a silver country,

where interest rules at 10 to 12 per cent. per annum.

"No silver country is prosperous.

"No silver country has a stable and firm government.

"In no silver country is general labor well paid.

"No silver country has its government securities at par.

"No silver country has good public school facilities."

DEBTOR CLASS.

The people who own their property can hold it and cannot be forced to sell it for silver. The poor have no silver bullion to coin, and would be obliged to work for a fifty-cent dollar. But they say it is the debtor class who are to be benefited. Who are the debtor class? It is the active business man of the nation, who loans money on 90 days. With free silver you would retire six hundred million of gold, and thus reduce the medium of exchange 50 per cent. The active business man could not get his loans extended. The wheels of commerce and activity would stop, and labor remain idle. As we consume at home 95 per cent. of our products, with the business of your country paralyzed and idle, to whom would your farmer sell his products?

Would not his condition be worse than now? Is it not better to maintain our National credit and restore confidence among our own people and the world, and get our people back to work again? Ninety-four per cent. of all manufacturers' goods is labor. When we build a house it is labor, and if labor is not well employed it loses its purchasing power. Men cannot build homes nor buy the necessities of life, but must wear their old clothes as they have for the last three years. Labor is the wealth of the nation. If idle, we grow poor—if well employed and well paid, we grow rich.

Booker Washington says: "Educate the colored Southern men and you increase their wants, and they will consume your manufactured goods." We have free schools and educate our people. We increase their wants. They want to be men and women in the broadest sense of manhood and womanhood. If we believe in free schools we must stand for Protection to maintain a higher standard of wages.

VALUE OF LABOR.

We have seventy million of people—full twenty-two million are laborers, as clerks, farmers, masons, carpenters and manufacturers at \$1.25 per day including board. The value of labor in the United States when well employed in one year is equal to eight billions of dollars, more than all the gold and silver in the world. It must be clear to any intelligent man that prosperity in our country is well employed and well paid labor. It is not the coining of a fifty-cent dollar to debase the value of labor that will help us, but restore the Tariff and get our people back to work again.

CONTRACTION.

There seemed to be some fear among the Western farmers that when the Republican party declared for sound money they meant to adopt President Cleveland's policy to retire the greenbacks and treasury notes, and this idea was expressed to me by many of the delegates to the Republican convention at St. Louis, particularly by the Western delegates.

The Republican platform declares that we will maintain our present silver and paper money on a parity with gold so that there shall be no contraction of our currency. We need not fear that any foreign country will dictate to us the price of gold, because with proper Protection and reciprocity the flow of gold will be into this country. It is bond sales that take our gold out of this country, and it is the employment of our workingmen at good wages that brings the gold into our country.

BIMETALLISM.

Which party is the true friend of bimetallism? What is bimetallism as the people generally understand it? It is to have both gold and silver in circulation, to be equal in paying for labor and the exchange of our labor for products, one as good as the other.

The combination of Democrats and Populists declare they are for bimetallism, they declare for free unlimited coinage of the world's silver. If our Government should continue to redeem silver

with gold, every nation on the globe would send their silver here and get our gold. Because in the commercial markets of the world three hundred and seventy-one and a quarter grains of silver is only worth 52 cents in gold, the world's silver would be sent here, as they would make a net profit of 48 cents on every three hundred and seventy-one and a quarter grains of silver. Mexico would send its silver here by the train load. Necessarily we could not redeem silver in gold. We would be on a silver basis—gold would go out of circulation. It must be clear to every intelligent man that when the Popocrat party declare they are for bimetallism, they are trying to deceive the people.

How does our Government now maintain the equality of all forms of money—paper, gold and silver? They limit the amount to be issued as a solvent man gives his notes, will only give what he is able to pay. The free silver proposition is that our Government shall by free unlimited coinage issue all that every one brings to them to coin. How long will the man remain solvent if he gives his notes to any one asking for them? Our Government would be in the same condition—have to suspend all gold payment; all they would have would be silver and all our money would be silver, and paper money would be redeemed in silver. So, you see, the Popocrat party does not stand for bimetallism, but for silver and silver alone.

The Republican party by its resolutions to maintain its present silver and paper money on a parity with gold, limiting the amount of what shall be issued, in a practical way stands for bimetallism. The claim of the Popocrats that they are for bimetallism is clearly a fraud on its face.

YOUNG MEN.

Let me say to the young man who casts his first vote and the young man under age, who has nothing but his hands and brains to start in life with, who has got to work for wages or a salary to acquire a small capital by self denial and economy; it will take a few years to acquire capital and a character to gain confidence among older men.

Remember that nearly every man in Chicago—or any of our large cities or country towns, started in this way. You have a great personal interest in the campaign, for what does free silver mean? Demoralization among our people and loss of national credit. If they should succeed and enlarge our mints, and coin all the surplus silver in the world and the products of our mines, the end would be inflation and your hard earnings would be so depreciated and all kinds of property you wished to acquire would be so advanced that your opportunities to make a start in life would be gone. The future of this great Republic will depend upon your integrity and patriotism.

REVOLUTION.

When a Republican Government interferes with your individual rights to acquire property and maintain order and protect property rights, it will fall and this great free government will perish, and in the future you would live in a land held in submission by great standing armies. The farmer, the middle classes and labor, the producers of natural wealth, have a vital interest in a stable, uniform medium of exchange.

OPPORTUNITY.

Never in the history of this world had so many young men, who started with nothing but hands and brains, such an opportunity for success as in the thirty years this Government was controlled by the Republican party.

BUNCO.

Can it be that the intelligent farmer and laboring man will be fooled again as in 1892, and our country kept four years longer in this condition of uncertainty—confidence among our own people destroyed?

I feel as if I had been to a funeral for the last three years. Men are daily begging for employment, in a land rich in material wealth, blessed by Providence. Answer me and tell me why this should be so? Is it not because we have ne-

glected our political duty, and allowed our country to be controlled by principles and policies that have been in the interest of foreign countries, and have abandoned the principles that gave us thirty years of the greatest prosperity known to man?

My friends, you are to decide this question. This is our country—are we not entitled to its blessings? Shall we now sink our manhood because a party has been in power whose theories have paralyzed our industries and destroyed the demand for farmers' products, or shall we march forward under the banner of the great leader who stands for Protection of American Industry, Reciprocity and Honest Dollars,

WILLIAM McKINLEY.

Why the American People Should Reject Free Coinage of Silver.

- 1st.—It would destroy our national credit and we would be classed with the weak nations of the world.
- 2d.—It would keep our people in an uncertain state with no confidence among ourselves, business would be paralyzed and we would have four years more of hard times.
- 3d.—It would drive all our gold out of circulation, and when we did not redeem in gold it would reduce the intrinsic value of our silver and paper money to 50 cents on the dollar, contracting our currency over one-half.
- 4th.—It would destroy the farmer's home market and he would be obliged to sell his product at extremely low prices.

The successful farmer makes it possible for the merchant and manufacturer and all our industries to be prosperous, giving employment to labor.